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The Shakespeare Association Bulletin

Annual Bibliography of Shaksperiana for 1941

Index of Names in the 1941 Bibliography

Et In Illyria Feste [*Concluded*]

Ira Aldridge

Horatio's Commentary

An Emendation in *Romeo and Juliet*

Published by

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The Shakespeare Association of America, Inc.

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The Shakespeare Association of America aims to unite all the lovers of the poet and to encourage and enlarge the widespread interest in his works. It will serve as a means of communication in the Shakesperian world, reporting what is being done in his honor or service, whether on the stage or in the schoolroom, in club or in university. Its purpose includes co-operation in every enterprise that will be helpful to a knowledge of the man and his works, whether scholarly, educational, or theatrical.

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Other matters relating to the work of the Association should be referred to the Secretary.

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SHAKSPERE AND HIS CONTEMPORARIES

(A Classified Bibliography for 1941)

Compiled by
SAMUEL A. TANNENBAUM

The following bibliography, based on an examination of the contents of more than 1,400 periodicals and hundreds of books in the N. Y. Public Library and in the library of Columbia University, is a continuation of those published in the January issues of this Bulletin for some years past. Only those items have been listed which I thought contributed a new idea or a new fact. The names of female writers, if known, are distinguished by a colon after the initial letter of the baptismal name. The titles of books and pamphlets are printed in italics. If no year of publication is mentioned in connection with an item, 1941 is to be understood. The discussion of a book, as opposed to an edition, is indicated by printing the title within single quotes and omitting 'ed' after the contributor's name. The following abbreviations have been employed:

Amer	—American
Archiv	—Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen
B	—Bulletin
Beiblatt	—Beiblatt zur Anglia
bib	—bibliography
Bn	—Boston
comp	—compiler
CUP	—Cambridge University Press
d	—der, die, das, dem, &c.
DNS	—Die neueren Sprachen
dt	—deutsch, &c.
ed(d)	—editor(s)
edn	—edition
ELH	—Journal of English Literary History
Elizn	—Elizabethan
Engl	—English, englische, &c.
ES	—Englische Studien
f	—für
facs(s)	—facsimile(s)
fr	—from
GR	—Germanic Review
Hist	—History, Historie, Histoire
HLQ	—Huntington Library Quarterly
il(s)	—illustration(s)
J	—Journal
JEGP	—Journal of English & Germanic Philology
Lang	—Language
Libr	—Library
Lit	—Literature
Ln	—London
M	—Magazine
MLN	—Modern Language Notes
MLQ	—Modern Language Quarterly
MLR	—Modern Language Review
MP	—Modern Philology
NQ	—Notes & Queries
OUP	—Oxford University Press
Oxf	—Oxford
P	—Press
PMLA	—Publications of the Modern Language Ass'n of America
ports(s)	—portrait(s)
p.p.	—privately printed
PQ	—Philological Quarterly
Pr	—Proceedings
Q	—Quarterly
R	—Review, Revue
Repr	—Reprinted, reprints
RES	—Review of English Studies
SAB	—Shakespeare Ass'n Bulletin
Sec	—Section
Sh	—Shakespeare, Shakspere, &c
Shn	—Shaksperian
SJ	—Shakespeare Jahrbuch
SP	—Studies in Philology
Sp	—Spectator
TAM	—Theatre Arts Monthly
TLS	—Times Literary Supplement
tr	—translator
Tr	—transactions
trn	—translation
u	—und
U	—University
UP	—University Press

That I am sincerely grateful to all who have helped me in the preparation of this bibliography goes without saying. But I must make special mention of Miss Dorothy Rosenzweig and Dr. and Mrs. Ralph Rosenberg.

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Hunter College

ET IN ILLYRIA FESTE

By J. W. DRAPER

[*Concluded*]

Feste is the most musical of Shakspere's jesters;[47] and he can adapt his repertoire to hearers of such varied tastes as Sir Toby, Sir Andrew, and the Duke. In fact, he has made himself and his singing indispensable to two noble households. Warde describes him (p. 78) as a combination fool and minstrel; but skill in music was a common stock-in-trade for the stage-fool, and also for the actual court jester: Heywood and Tarleton sang; and Armin, who must have been able to sing to play the part of Feste, doubtless learned his music from Tarleton, who was his foster-father.[48] Feste, moreover—and therefore Armin—could also dance, or at least cut a caper, for the jig at the end of the play was presumably accompanied by some such action; and skill in dancing and even acrobatics was also characteristic of the stage-fool.

But Feste's chief claim to favor was certainly his wit, both persiflage and daring practical jokes. His pointed speech is quite in the tradition of the stage fool; and, since Armin unquestionably augmented Shakspere's lines *ad libitum,* the text is doubtless also in his own tradition as court fool. Feste has the sagacity of the finished and perfect fool, a virtuoso in the art of courtly entertainment, who can select from his wide gamut of effects what style or technique he will to fit the person or occasion. He can use music or speech or action; he entertains the Duke and Sir Toby with songs; he perplexes Maria with impudence; he woos Sir Andrew with sheer nonsense, and outwits his mistress with paradox; he knows that he cannot entertain Malvolio at all; and so he entertains himself at Malvolio's expense. Like other stage fools, he remembers proverbs aptly—"Cucullus non facit monachum"; and he can run off a neat epigram *ex tempore,* on drink, on pleasure, on foolery, or what you will. He wins the Duke's praise for his paradox and oxymoron—common devices of court fools; and he can play with double meanings and mistake the word with as nimble a wit and as innocent a face as Falstaff himself.

Yet withall, he never lapses, as most fools did,[49] into the mere obscene.

Feste, to be sure, does not dabble in politics; but he has a generous share of the impudence that went with his calling: like the Mantuan dwarf Nanino, he indulges in daring parody;[50] the Joyous Societies of Valois France even aimed their shafts at the royal government (I, v, 38); Brusquet did not stop at gross effrontery.[51] So Feste, on his very first appearance, undertakes to prove to his noble mistress that she is a fool, and has the hardihood to say that the soul of the brother whom she mourns is in hell; but luckily he has calculated well, gets her to laugh and so saves the situation: such was the witty defeat of the wise King Solomon at the hands of the fool Marcolf in Mediæval story.[52] Stone, a court fool of James I, was whipt for calling a certain lord a "fool;"[53] and Armstrong was at last dismissed from the court of Charles I for ridiculing Archbishop Laud:[131] Feste was, indeed, a privileged character. Triboulet, like Feste, on occasion mimicked the clergy;[132] and Tarleton himself masqueraded as a parson.[133] Indeed, Feste works this vein with enough actual and pretended learning to amaze Sir Andrew, to trick Malvolio into mistaking him for the local curate, and make the critic Hutson think him originally trained for Holy Orders.[134] His more significant raillery, like that of Swift, is aimed at the foibles and follies and shams of humankind; and his very name, suggestive of the Italian *festa* or *festare,* is the perfect expression of the holiday mood in which kings clothed the serious business of their courts. Viola compliments him as "wise enough to play the foole"[135] and to adjust his fooling, like his songs, to his varied audience. Indeed, he shows considerable acumen in judging the aims and motives of those about him, and so keeps himself in the good graces of his betters, and lives most shrewdly by his wits. In the exercise of his profession, Feste was certainly no fool.

He does not, however, confine his comedy to mere words. The fool in Tudor drama, unlike the Vice of the morality plays, had generally become a mere chorus with little part in the plot;[136] and court fools, moreover, were likely to

take unto themselves a sort of choral part of comment malapropos on passing incidents;[137] but Shakspere, when he developed the court fool in Feste's rôle, presented him quite realistically as plotting for himself, as helping his mistress with her chosen lover, and also as taking a part in the plot of Maria and her henchmen against the luckless Malvolio. His part in these affairs demands proper explication.

Feste cannot be very young; he has a house, if not a family; he has a taste for "ginger" and the condiments of life; surely, he has no wish to be cast forth on an unfeeling world; and yet, when the play begins, he has just risked his place in the sun of Olivia's favor by running away to the court of a neighboring Duke.[138] Furthermore, he does this at the very time that the successive deaths of Olivia's father and brother have left her in an anxious and even dangerous position, with an importunate nobleman demanding her hand in wedlock and the riot below stairs of Sir Toby and the suitor he has chosen for her hand. Feste went off without leave or notice, and he has been "long absent."[139] Indeed, he has the assurance to intimate that he expects to spend as much time with the Duke as with the Countess;[140] but perhaps this merely means that he looks forward to their marriage. In either case, on his return in the first act, Maria profers her good offices with the Countess in return for a confession of his deeds; but Feste declines her mediation and tells her nothing. Apparently, a very foolish Feste!

At first sight, all this seems quite inexplicable; for Feste was truly in a parlous state. The laws against vagabonds and runaway servants were severe;[141] and Maria cogently suggests that he may well be "turned away"[142] for his French leave; and, as she further intimates, loss of place for a servant in those days was "as good as hanging." Furness is much disturbed by this passage;[143] and indeed, though hanging was the legal punishment for a servant who stole from his master to the value of forty shillings,[144] Feste apparently did not deserve anything beyond the "moderate castigation"[145] usual for minor misdemeanors. The reference to "hanging," therefore, would seem to allude to the

ultimate consequences of his loss of place; for "cast" servants had little choice but to steal or starve. The "incertaintie of service"[146] filled the roads and cities with vagabonds, who, as a public menace, were treated with great severity; and "hanging" was liable to be their sad and impotent conclusion. Servingmen were prudently advised to provide themselves with some other resource for a livelihood,[147] or, if possible, save for a rainy day, like Adam in *As You Like It*.[148] "A young Servingman, an olde Beggar"[149] was a current saying; and masters, overburdened as they were with hungry mouths,[150] would dismiss a servant for the least infraction; and then he must live as he could;[151] and some, moreover, even ran away because their "wages cannot suffice so much as to find them breeches."[152] Indeed, servants were little better than serfs, attached to a master rather than to the land; and anyone who enticed a servant away—as perhaps Orsino had lured Feste—was subject to legal action by the master.[153] The House of Este used to loan their court fools to cheer their friends in case of illness; and German and Italian nobles used to exchange fools with their friends;[154] and, in England there were neighborhood fools who went from house to house like the Mediæval minstrels;[155] but Feste was none of these: he had deliberately run away.

Such folly would strike Elizabethans at once as strange, especially in a competent and settled fool. Surely he must have ample reason to desert the lucrative semi-sinecure that he enjoyed amidst the creature comforts of Olivia's amply provided household. Why then did Feste, who clearly valued the fruits of good living and was, moreover, a housekeeper in the community, jeopardize himself by running off? The Elizabethans doubtless saw the reason without being told: Orsino's suit had been pending for some time; and Feste soon decided that the charming and lovesick Duke[156] would win his mistress' hand; at least, he hints as much.[157] Professional policy required that he visit this Duke, take the measure of his tastes, and if possible curry his favor:[158] thus he risked the present to insure the future. Of course, he will not explain this to Maria, partly because she might tell Olivia, partly because he does not want the others in the hall to know how he has anticipated them, and

partly because he feels, and rightly, that his own mother wit is quite equal to the occasion. She comes in, and speaks to him angrily; he proves her a fool and suggests that her lamented brother is in hell; she laughs at the paradoxes; and Feste is forgiven.

Feste seems to be the first to guess Olivia's passion for the young Cesario—as he had also guessed Maria's designs upon the single blessedness of Sir Toby.[159] He slyly warns Cesario that the self-willed and calculating Olivia intends to rule her husband;[160] and he rightly judges that Orsino is "changeable,"[161] and so will doubtless recover from Olivia's refusal. In fact, Feste is the shrewdest person in the play, except perhaps Olivia. When he has once made up his mind which way her wind is blowing, he sets his sails accordingly, seeks and obtains Cesario's good opinion of his fooling, as he had the Duke's; and, when the two knights set upon the youngster to do him injury, Feste runs off to "tell my Lady straight";[162] for he knows that she will be furious if they harm him. He cannot know that Cesario is actually a girl, or that the valiant knights are actually attacking her twin brother, who turns out much more of a knight than they. As a matter of fact, Feste loses his pains with Cesario, as he did with the Duke; for Olivia actually married her twin, Sebastian.

Feste takes part not only in the major plot of Olivia's love affairs but also in the guying of Malvolio. He apparently feels that the steward has no chance as a suitor for the Countess; and, if he did have a chance, Feste believes, as Maria and the other gentles do, that it should be nipped in the bud betimes. Though he takes some pains to impress even Sir Andrew, he hardly cares what he says or does to Malvolio: indeed, did not Malvolio at the crucial moment of his return from absence take occasion to cast aspersions on the jester's professional skill? And Feste, like Will Somers,[163] was not without a high regard for his professional attainments. He allies himself with the "disorders" below stairs, joins with Sir Toby in taunting Malvolio.[164] Of course, Maria easily persuades him to impersonate the curate and be-fool the would-be count; and he continues to plague him even after the others have departed. In the

end, when Malvolio clearly cannot marry the Countess and take revenge, Feste, with just a gloating touch of human malice, at last informs the steward of the impersonation: Feste had too much *amour propre* not to put the finishing touch on his performance; and Malvolio must have been chagrined indeed to have been so fooled by a mere fool, and one whom he accounted a very poor fool at that.[165]

Feste is clearly modeled on the actual court fool: though sprung from humble origins, he has acquired some education, a house and perhaps a wife, comparative wealth, and a privileged social status in which he need not wear his motley. Like all those that dwell in the half-world of insecurity, he has developed a keen eye to the main chance; but he is wise enough not to dabble in politics, and chooses rather to found his career on his singing, his sharp repartee and his piquant impudence. He joins in the practical jokes on Malvolio; he woos the Duke for reasons of obvious policy; and, for like reasons, he helps Olivia woo Cesario, and even on occasion becomes her trusted messenger.[166] All this, he illumines with the lambent sparkle of his badinage: he lives in two planes of being, like so many clever people, an outward façade of professional raillery, and a serious inner urge for the good things of the great world to which he was not born. He is truly chameleon-like, and eats the air, promise-crammed—chameleon-like in his wit to a dozen different people, and also in planning and plotting that the promise of his future livelihood may be fulfilled. Shakspere thought of character in terms of the bodily humors and the planets, which dominated contemporary science. The covetous, like Feste, were thought to be melancholy,[167] and melancholy might produce a bitter wit[168] but the rollicking Feste, as he himself avers, is no cold, "dry" fool. Singers and artists were thought to be phlegmatic;[169] but Feste is not slow or dull. His humor is rather the mercurial, the ingenious[170] temperament of quick reply and rhetoric, of "imagination" and "curiosity [oddity] in writing."[171] The mercurial type might flit from humor to humor, and naturally adapted itself to the complexion of those about it.[172] Our Feste then, outwardly at least, is a mercurial fellow, in vivid contrast to the ardent melancholy of Viola, Olivia and the Duke.

The fool-tradition that came down from the Middle Ages saw the world as topsy-turvy, and all society as fools, except the fool;[173] and *Twelfth Night* is a comedy of all-too-human fools, whom Shakspere depicts as fooled to the top of their several bents: Olivia fools Orsino by refusing him; and Viola fools him and marries him; Sebastian unwillingly makes a fool of himself and of Olivia by letting her lead him to the altar; Olivia fools Sir Toby and Sir Andrew; and they fool Malvolio; and Feste, in this world of chance and caprice and change, is at least no more of a fool than all the rest. There are two noble fools, Orsino and Olivia, two knightly fools, Sir Toby and Sir Andrew, a common fool, Malvolio, and a fool by vocation, Feste: such is this gay Illyrian world of foolery. Indeed, the play is quite in the tradition of *The xxv Orders of Fooles* and Tarleton's *Jests* and Armin's *Nest of Ninnies*. But, beyond this, it is a very picture of the age, and of human motives and desires in all ages. Indeed, it has a serious undercurrent of social and economic reality that points forward to the problem comedies that Shakspere was to write a few years later. Most of the characters are seeking to combine security with personal independence—the age-old struggle—and this is the theme of the comedy. The Countess craves the safeguards of matrimony, but with a husband whom she can dominate;[174] the lovesick Duke[175] wants a wife whom of course he will dominate; Malvolio wants a lasting and dominant position in the household;[176] Sir Toby intrigues for a permanent supply of "Cakes and Ale," and the dowerless Maria for a husband;[177] Viola longs for the protection of a mate and finally gets her Duke; the footloose Sebastian needs a niche in the social structure, and achieves it by his marriage; and Feste tries to assure himself of a future master who will "delight" in him as much as did the former Count; and we trust that Sebastian proves appreciative. The wit of Feste has made the play seem a "carnival farce" and a "Christmas romp" to critics; but its merriment, like Feste's, is only a mask for the serious things beneath; and the Illyria that the jester delighted with his fooling is actually the England of Robert Armin and William Shakspere.

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[51]Welsford, *op. cit.,* p. 149.
[52]Swain, pp. 32-34.
[53]Doran, p. 196.
[131]*Ibid.,* pp. 204-205.
[132]Welsford, p. 147.
[133]Doran, *op cit.,* p. 177.
[134]*Twelfth Night, ed. cit.,* p. 405.
[135]*Ibid.,* III, i, 60 *et seq.*
[136]Busby, *op. cit.,* pp. 29-30
[137]*Ibid.,* p. 38.
[138]*Twelfth Night,* II, iv, 10 *et seq.;* II, i, 38 *et seq.*
[139]*Ibid.,* I, v, 17.
[140]*Ibid.,* III, i, 40 *et seq.*
[141]See C. Whibley in *Shakespeare's England,* Oxford, 1917, II, 489 *et seq.*
[142]*Twelfth Night,* I, v, 17 *et seq.*
[143]*Ibid.,* p. 60.
[144]Harrison, *Description of England, London,* 1587, Bk. II, Chap. xi.
[145]M. Bacon, New Abridgment, Philadelphia, 1811, IV, 292.
[146]H. Peacham, *Coach and Sedan,* London, 1636, sig C 3. See also the present author, "Falstaff's Robin and Other Pages," *S. P.,* XXXVI, 446 *et seq.*
[147]See *Cyuile and Vncyuile Life* (*ed. princ.,* 1579) in *Inedited Tracts,* ed. Hazbitt, Roxb. Lib., London, 1868, pp. 91-92.
[148]See G. Markham in *Inedited Tracts, ed. cit.* See also the present author, "Shakespeare's Rustic Servants," *Sh. Jbb.,* LXIX (1933), 87 *et seq.*
[149]Markham, *op. cit.,* p. 177.
[150]See the present author, "The Theme of Timon of Athens," *MLR.,* XXIX, 20 *et seq.*
[151]Markham, *op. cit.,* 142 *et seq.;* and L. B. Wright, *Middle Class Culture in Elizabethan England,* Chapel Hill, N. C., 1935, pp. 444-445.
[152]Harrison, *op. cit.,* Bk II, Chap. xi.
[153]Bacon, *op. cit.,* IV, 593.
[154]Welsford, *op. cit.,* p. 131 *passim.*
[155]*Ibid.,* p. 164
[156]See the present author, "The Melancholy Duke Orsino," *Bull. Inst. Hist. of Medicine,* VI, 1020 *et seq.*
[157]*Twelfth Night,* III, i, 33 *et seq.*
[158]*Ibid.,* II, iv, 78 *et seq.*
[159]*Ibid.,* I, v, 20 and 26-28.
[160]*Ibid.,* III, i, 34.
[161]*Ibid.,* II, iv, 79-80.
[162]*Ibid.,* IV, i, 30.
[163]Welsford, *op. cit.,* p. 168.
[164]*Twelfth Night,* II, iii, 103 *passim.*
[165]*Ibid.,* I, v, 81.
[166]*Ibid.,* IV, i, 8-9.
[167]C. Dariot, *Astrologicall Iudgement of the Starres,* tr. F. Wither, London, 1598, sig. D 2 r.
[168]A. Laurentius (Andre du Laurens), *Discourse of the Preservation of the Sight.* tr. Syrphlet, London, 1599, 85 *et seq.*
[169]Dariot, *op. cit.* sig. D 4 r.
[170]T. Hill [Hyll], *Schoole of Skill,* London, 1599, leaf 50 v.
[171]Dariot, *op. cit.,* sig. D 4 v.
[172]*Ibid.,* sig. D 1 r.
[173]Swain, *op. cit.,* p. 14.
[174]See the present author, "The Wooing of Olivia," *Neophil.,* XXIII, 37, *et seq.*
[175]See the present author, "Orsino," *cit. supra.*
[176]See the present author, "Olivia's Household," *PMLA.,* XLIX, 797 *et seq.*
[177]See the present author, "Sir Toby's 'Cakes and Ale' ", *Eng. Studies,* XX, 57 *et seq.*

IRA ALDRIDGE

By S. DURILIN

(*Translation, from the Russian, by E. Blum*)

IN the history of the theater Ira Aldridge belongs among the forgotten men. The memoirs relating to his life and work in Russia have preserved many touching recollections of him. Every encyclopedia of note makes mention of his name, in spite of the fact that in the homeland of Shakspere, whose foremost interpreter Aldridge had been, he is not even mentioned in the ninth edition of *Encyclopedia Britannica.* A similar omission is made in another encyclopedia of world fame—the French *La Grande Encyclopedie.* Nor do the latest American and English encyclopedias give a biography of the famous actor, although they furnish a few unrelated facts of his life—information of doubtful authenticity.

In the *National Encyclopedia of American Biography* (New York, 1906) the name of Ira Aldridge is left out as not worthy of inclusion in the Pantheon of American celebrities. The so-called "Great Brockhaus" devotes just two lines to Aldridge, and these not free from errors.

The impression is thus given that European and American historians of the theatre are in a conspiracy of silence against the famous tragedian who belonged to the black race. It is surely significant that when the American Journal, *The Crisis,* the official organ of the National Association for Advancement of Colored People, undertook to publish an issue in defence of cultural rights of the Negro and wanted an article on Ira Aldridge, it turned to a Soviet authority, since an early biography of Aldridge dealing with his American or English experience has not been written.

In the absence of such authentic data, one is forced to accept probabilities and to eliminate absurdities. The story of his Russian experiences seems to be the most authentic. A complete biography of Aldridge can be written only with

reservations, in anticipation of future corrections which will remove from his life's history the grotesque element of legend.

In November, 1858, Ira Aldridge reached Petersburg and began his appearances in the so-called Circus-Theater.

On November 10 he opened in *Othello*. The enormous Circus-Theater was filled to capacity. Renowned writers, artists and scientists were present.

I. I. Panaev wrote in the *Sovremennik,* the journal of Nekrasov and Tchernishevsky, as follows:

"When Othello appeared on the stage, there ensued, after a ripple of applause in greeting, a dead silence, that uninterrupted stillness—an indication of intense curiosity and involuntary respect to talent—which presages the unusual. It seemed as if the thousands of persons present in the theater held their breath. All binoculars were aimed on the debutant."

The great majority of the public, accustomed to see in the rôle of Othello such actors as Karatygin and Briansky, were amazed by Aldridge's performance; he seemed to have annihilated all the accepted criteria of "the tragic." Some confusion is detectable in the testimonial of Syn Otechestva:

"In so far as the performance of the African tragedian is concerned, we are puzzled by it. It contains so much of the unusual, peculiar and untamed—elements unknown to us until now. If we look upon this interpretation from the point of view of our scenic art, it appears to us somewhat strange and at times inexplicable, but the talent of the actor is so tremendous that it obliterates those conventional impressions and transports us into a different, to us unknown world, into that world of uncontrolled, primitive passions as portrayed by the one and only Shakspere. As Othello Aldridge was magnificent . . ."

Though the writer's perplexity is felt in every line of this review, the admission is priceless that the talent of the actor is so great that it obliterates the traditional impressions

which the Shaksperian figures had made in the Russian stage.

The criticism of Severnaya Pchela goes a step further and applauds the "new" thing which Aldridge introduced in the interpretation of the Shaksperian tragedy:

"From the first act, during the speech before the Senate, we saw in him the unusual actor who was trying to win the approval of his audience not by shouting, not by exaggerated excitement, but by simple and sincere presentation. In Aldridge we saw a real living Othello, saw him as the poet created him. There was no artifice in his performance, it was pure nature caught in action, revealed not through art but through the spirit."

Simplicity and truthfulness were the new ideas brought by Aldridge into the Petersburg theater, which had been accustomed to the cold declamations and superficial effects of Karatygin. The living naturalness of the being, the prevailing varacity of the emotions, coupled with the unusual force of temperament, astonished the more sensitive in his first Russian audiences. Comparing the performance of Aldridge with the customary formal and rhetorical methods of Russian tragedians, the noted theatrical critic Zvantzev drew a sharp line between him and his European colleagues:

"At the first appearance of Aldridge one could not help noticing that he was not of the "common variety." A majestic nobility of posture and manner, charming diction, a perfect knowledge of the stage, velvety softness and flexibility of every move, classic composure and complete, though modest, self-confidence, these are the rare qualities of the actor who dared to play before London audiences, before the people who gave Shakspere to the world. To be sure, all these qualities can be acquired with a sufficient degree of intelligence and dramatic intuition, but where will you find the living soul with which Ira Aldridge reveals the subtlest conceptions of the great dramatist?"

The most amazing thing to the critics was the fact that Aldridge combined in his character the two qualities so seldom found together in the same degree: a simple, good nature and a high standard of education. The son of poor

Africans, and at the same time the most discerning interpreter of Shakspere.

From these testimonials, following his first appearance, one may judge what a tremendous and varied impression was created by his Othello. The political and social atmosphere which Aldridge found in Petersburg in 1858 contributed much in making this impression. One of his Petersburg friends wrote after Ira's first debut as follows:

"I am quite convinced that after Aldridge it will be impossible to see any white actor as Othello, even if it were Garrick himself. In our contemporary history there is a movement which is creating a wholly new atmosphere in life and thought, namely the emancipation of the Negro in North America. It becomes an important event not only for the enslaved people but for all of us . . ."

Notwithstanding the labors of the censor, we recognize in the above the hint at Russia, where millions of white serfs longed for freedom.

"That is why," continued the writer, " in our times the rôle of Othello, played by this genius with all shades of tribal and climatic character, has a great universal meaning. It is not Shakspere or Aldridge who interests us, but the Negro in general, whom both present to us (here and in America) in all his naïve, childish simplicity, with all the treasures of his primitive, loving nature."

This Shaksperian Othello, with his nobility of character and his intense suffering, as revealed by Aldridge, becomes the champion of human dignity, protesting against the cruel persecution of the black race and fighting for liberty.

In the memoirs of E. F. Yunge, the daughter of the famous sculptor and Vice President of the Academy of Arts, F. P. Tolstoy, herself a painter of note, we read:

"He [Aldridge] came to Petersburg in the Winter of 1858. We took several boxes and went there in a big crowd to see him in *Othello*. We were so enraptured that after the performance all of us rushed to his hotel and waited there for him. My Lord, what happened there! Starov, a friend of the poet Shevchenko and a disciple of Hertzen,

kissed his hands, 'his noble black hands.' I was trembling with excitement and in the general confusion was unable to understand what was being said by the crowd. All at once people spoke Russian, French, English and German."

Such were the impressions and feelings aroused by Aldridge in the progressive circles of Petersburg society, where the emancipation of the American slaves and the Russian serfs was considered the one great problem of the time.

To the advocates of the movement for the liberation of the millions of serfs and the emancipation of oppressed peoples everywhere, the appearance of Aldridge and his gigantic success was an obvious argument in defence of human and cultural rights. That is why *Sovremennik,* the liberal journal of Nekrasov and Tchernishevsky, devoted a comprehensive article of detailed criticism of his Othello and Shylock—these two parts, which acquired in the interpretation of Aldridge and in the reaction of the democratic audience a peculiar revolutionary meaning, an ardent defence of the black slave in America and the persecuted Jew in czarist Russia.

The impression made by Aldridge was so great that it aroused wide circles of Russian society, stirred not only by the play's artistic qualities but also by its social significance.

We find an exceptionally interesting reaction to the performances of Aldridge in the criticism of the famous historian, M. P. Pogodin (1800-1875). At the end of 1850 Pogodin was far from the position occupied by Sovremennik; in many respects he was openly hostile to him. But Pogodin, the son of a peasant-serf, was always opposed to the part played by the nobility in the political life of the country; he was opposed to serfdom and had abiding faith in the virgin forces of the masses. For these reasons the appearances of Aldridge aroused in him a remarkable response. Profoundly moved, Pogodin wrote:

"General opinion puts the Negro at the lowest level among the members of the human family. He is forced to accept the mental and moral superiority of his white brothers, as if they were of nobler blood. Look at Aldridge, then; here he is—an African, with a swarthy face, dark

skin, kinky hair, dilated nostrils, guttural speech. He does not attract us with an exquisite form, such as we are accustomed to; external beauty does not help him to create a favorable impression in the beginning to gain him friendship. Moreover, he speaks a foreign tongue, but such is the power of his soul, such is the majesty of his art that you yield to him from the first moment, you understand everything he says, you divine all that he feels, you seem to hear the beating of his heart, you are following a magician through all the gamut of human passions, you experience all possible degrees of fire, and reach, at last, the point where the very breath is caught, where mercury freezes . . . Love, hatred, humility, rage, goodness, fury, meekness, jealousy, malice, wrath, are revealed by this Negro with the same amazing force. He presents to you with astonishing clarity the minutest and finest nuances of the human emotions which the great master and clairvoyant Shakspere portrays . . ."

It would be impossible for Aldridge not to have had enemies in Petersburg, the Capital of the Empire of Serfdom. He had many. They succeeded in forbidding the staging of *Macbeth*. They viciously attacked the Negro who dared to appear in the Czar's Capital. Three years later, in Moscow, a whispering campaign began against Aldridge. But all these hisses were drowned in the chorus of wide acclamation. The best representatives of Russian literature, science and the theater received him as their own.

Aldridge enjoyed great success and recognition where it is hardest for an actor—among the members of his own profession. Actors in Russia attended his performances as if they were lessons in dramatic art.

Their sympathetic attitude to Aldridge was revealed with particular force at his benefit performance of *Othello*.

At the end of the performance Aldridge was honored by the actors of Petersburg. The oldest member of the Alexandrinsky Theater and the Petersburg stage, I. I. Sosnitzky, presented Aldridge with an excellently executed testimonial with a portrait of Shakspere surrounded by Thalia, Melpomene and Glory. The testimonial, covered with the sig-

natures of many actors, had the following inscription in Russian and English: "To Ira Aldridge from the Russian Actors." Below it was a verse by a fellow actor:

> Your wisdom, talent and noble effort
> Revealed to Russians great Shakspere;
> We shall not ever forget
> Othello, Shylock, and Lear

With the testimonial Sosnitzky handed him a laurel wreath encircled with a red ribbon and a broad gold ring on which the following legend stood out in relief: "To Ira Aldridge, the great interpreter of immortal Shakspere, from the Russian Actors, S. Petersburg, 1858."

The warm reception given to Aldridge in Russia had a decided influence on his life. From then on he began to consider Russia his second Fatherland.

On July 26, 1867, while on his way to Petersburg, Ira Aldridge was stricken by a fatal disease and was laid to rest in Lodz, a Polish city, then under Russian rule. Thus ended the life of this tireless wanderer. But a wreath of immortality will remain forever on his lonely grave in a Polish cemetery. A great actor, forgotten by European and American historians of the theater, Aldridge occupies a permanent and honored place in the history of the Russian Theater.

HORATIO'S COMMENTARY:

A Study in the Warp and Woof of *Hamlet*

By JULIA GRACE WALES

THE study of the sources, major and minor, of any play of Shakspere threatens to defeat itself through the sheer mass of facts accumulated. Lists we have, long and minute, of parallels and differences between the play and other versions of its main story, between passages in the play and all kinds of possible minor sources. They remain mere lists except as they can be organically related to the play itself, especially through the study of its vital structure. It is impossible to keep all these source items in focus at once, and bring them to bear on the whole play at once. One way out may be to work with a small stage of the action at a time, to study its internal structure in the light of all its possible sources, and not to lose sight meanwhile of its living relation to the general course of the action.

Horatio's commentary is a central element in the first scene of *Hamlet*. The scene as a whole falls into six subdivisions which we may designate:

A The two sentinels
B Soldier and scholar
C The Ghost: first entrance
D Horatio's commentary
E The Ghost: second entrance
F The postlude.

We turn to Horatio's commentary. It is proposed to subject this sub-scene to minute analysis in order to study at once the use of source materials and the workings of the formative process underlying the structure of the drama.

Horatio's commentary falls into three further sub-divisions: the present rapid arming for war, the old wars, the omens in the days of Julius Cæsar. To the reader, whether or not to the spectator, they serve their end—deepen the perspective of the action and give the sense of things past

and present and to come which the whole play tends to awaken. They are linked naturally.

"Is it not like the King?" asks Marcellus, and Horatio answers with a small sharp etching of a winter landscape:

> As thou art to thyself.
> Such was the very armour he had on,
> When he the ambitious Norway combated,
> So frowned he once, when in an angry parle
> He smote the sledded Polacks on the ice.
> 'Tis strange.

The words suggest affection on Horatio's part for the elder Hamlet. Belleforest describes the "gentleman" who is the prototype of Horatio as one "that in Horvendiles time had been nourished with" the prince, and "had not showne himselfe more affectioned to the bringing up he had received with Hamblet, then desirous to please the tirant . . . ."[1] Saxo refers to him as "a foster-brother of Amleth, who had not ceased to have regard to their common nurture; and who esteemed his present orders less than the memory of their past fellowship."[2]

This is now the third time that "with martial stalk" the Ghost has gone by the watch. Horatio thinks it a portent. And thus Marcellus is moved to ask the reason why Denmark is arming so hurriedly. The terms of his question paint a vivid picture of the kingdom at the opening of Claudius' reign,[3] though the King's name is not mentioned. There is nothing of this in the source.

Horatio answers with the story of the old combat and the covenant that concerned it, and the war that now threatens to grow out of the covenant.

Belleforest gives an account of the fight between Horvendile, father of Amleth, and Collere, King of Norway.

> "Now the greatest honor that men of noble birth could at that time win and obtaine, was in exercising the art of piracie upon the seas, assayling their neighbours, and the countries bordering upon them; and how much the more they used to rob, pill, and spoyle other provinces, and ilands far adjacent, so much the more their

honours and reputation increased and augmented: wherin Horvendile obtained the highest place in his time, beeing the most renouned pirate[4] that in those dayes scoured the seas and havens of the north parts: whose great fame so mooved the heart of Collere, king of Norway, that he was much grieved to heare that Horvendile surmounting him in feates of armes, thereby obscuring the glorie by him alreadie obtained upon the seas: (honor more than covetousnesse of riches (in those dayes) being the reason that provoked those barbarian princes to overthrow and vanquish one the other, not caring to be slaine by the handes of a victorious person). This valiant and hardy king having challenged Horvendile to fight with him body to body, the combate was by him accepted, with conditions [*avec pactes*], that hee which should be vanquished should loose all the riches he had in his ship, and that the vanquisher should cause the body of the vanquished (that should bee slaine in the combate) to be honourably buried, death being the prise and reward [*car la mort estoit le pris et salaire*] of him that should loose the battaile: and to conclude, Collere, king of Norway (although a valiant, hardy, and couragious prince) was in the end vanquished and slaine by Horvendile, who presently caused a tombe to be erected, and therein (with all honorable obsequies fit for a prince) buried the body of king Collere, according to their auncient manner and superstitions in these dayes, and the conditions of the combate, bereaving the kings shippes of all their riches. . . ."[5]

Slight resemblances to other parts of the play and especially the words *pris et salaire* applied to death, recalling as they do Hamlet's "Why, this is hire and salary, not revenge!" reinforce our awareness that the dramatist's imagination must have worked directly on this passage.

Possibly also he turned to Saxo's Latin, in which occurs not only the idea of emulation but the word *emulatus*.[6]

Saxo's version is much longer, and we cannot quote it all here. Unlike Belleforest, he gives a vivid setting for the scene of the combat:

"There was an island lying in the middle of the sea, which each of the rovers, bringing his ships up on either side, was holding. The captains were tempted by the pleasant look of the beach, and the comeliness of the shores led them to look through the interior of the springtide woods, to go through the glades, and roam over the sequestered forests. It was here that the advance of Koll and Horwendil brought them face to face without any witness[7] . . . . nor were their strangeness in meeting one another, nor the sweetness of that spring-green spot, so heeded as to prevent them from the fray."[8]

In the latter part of Saxo's story we find another summer landscape. Amleth has carried out his vengeance and undertaken another journey to Britain.

> "He entered Scotland, and, when quite close to the abode of the queen, he went into a meadow by the wayside to rest his horses. Pleased by the look of the spot, he thought of resting—the pleasant prattle of the stream exciting a desire to sleep—and posted men to keep watch some way off."[9]

It is here that the spies of the Queen of Scotland steal Amleth's shield (on which his exploits are recorded) and also a letter, with the result that the Queen of Scotland changes the letter, "playing the very trick on Amleth which, as she had learnt [from the shield], he had himself used in outwitting his companions."[10]

Oddly enough, the summer landscape has a parallel in *Fratracide Punished:*

> *Hamlet.* There is a pleasant spot, here on this island. Let us stay here a while, and dine. There's a pleasant wood, and there a cool stream of water. So fetch me the best from the ship; here we'll make right merry.[11]

This passage has the island in common with the first landscape passage in Saxo; on the other hand, the incident is more like that in Saxo's second landscape passage. In the German play, it is here that Hamlet disposes of his unwelcome companions, the two banditti, whom he induces by a ruse to shoot each other. Here also he discovers the letter to "an arch-murderer in England,"[12] which he has no occasion to change, however, as the banditti are dead.

It is noticeable that the sea and piracy *motif* is transferred in Shakspere from the Horvendile story to the journey to England, and that in *Fratricide Punished* the landscape of the Horvendile fight is similarly transferred.[13] We forbear to draw any inference from this point, but it probably has significance—is no doubt a hieroglyph that, if we could read it, would tell us some fact about the evolution of the German version and perhaps of *Hamlet* itself.

The summer landscape does not appear in Shakspere. Instead we have the winter scene on the ice in Horatio's story

of the angry parle with the sledded Polacks. It is perhaps noteworthy that the incident of the Polacks occurs only in Shakspere and not in the known sources. It is easily detachable from the context. The line "As thou art to thyself" could perfectly well be followed by "Thus twice before, and jump at this dead hour . . . ." It may, of course, have some other source of association.[14]

From the old combat Horatio goes on to speak of the war now threatened. It is not unlikely that the account of young Fortinbras as well as that of Fortinbras senior reflects in a general way the passage on emulation and the desire for honor already quoted from Belleforest. The theme of honor and glory is one of the universal ideas, however, which absorbed the mind of the Renaissance and on which there was an extensive literature. That Shakspere thought about the subject in more than a conventional way is evident in the lyrical outbursts of Hotspur, the irony of Falstaff, the more balanced ideal of Henry the Fifth; also in the ironical and tragic treatments in *Troilus and Cressida* and *Coriolanus*. The passage in Belleforest would contribute a reminder of the theme and a dramatic occasion for using it. It is further developed in the rôle of Fortinbras as the play goes on.

The theme of war is given a surprising amount of space in the scene. The fact has given rise to much conjecture[15] on the place of the wars with Norway in an earlier version of the play. Perhaps, however, it only shows that the dramatist got deeply interested in the source story and in the background and antecedent history of his characters—just as the modern saga novelist gets interested in creating for himself a whole world for his people to come out of. It is a process natural to the creative mind, but the dramatist, unlike the novelist, has to keep it under strict control. One suspects that Shakspere was still writing *Hamlet* when, for practical reasons, he had to stop; that he could have gone on writing *Hamlet* forever.

We now pass on to that part of Horatio's commentary which has to do with portents. It too is surprisingly long.

An especially minute study of it is called for since here the problems of source and structure are inextricably interwoven.

The passage occurs only in the Second Quarto. It is introduced naturally enough. Bernardo, in view of this story, thinks the portentous appearance of the ghost appropriate. Horatio recalls the portents in Rome before the death of Cæsar.

Dover Wilson, referring us to Massey,[16] rearranges the passage to read:

> In the most high and palmy state of Rome,
> A little ere the mightiest Julius fell,
> The graves stood tenantless, and the sheeted dead
> Did squeak and gibber in the Roman streets,
> And even the like precurse of fierce events,
> As harbingers preceding still the fates
> And prologue to the omen coming on,
> Have heaven and earth together demonstrated
> Unto our climatures and countrymen,
> As stars with trains of fire and dews of blood,
> Disasters in the sun; and the moist star,
> Upon whose influence Neptune's empire stands,
> Was sick almost to doomsday with eclipse.

We may notice a small structural point in favor of this emendation in that the passage now ends abruptly (as well as ominously) on the high note of "eclipse" instead of the lower tone of "climatures and countrymen" and so more sharply emphasizes the sudden breaking off when the ghost enters.

Wilson thinks the passage refers to contemporary events. He lists the solar and lunar eclipses between February 25, 1598, and November, 1603:

> The year 1598 was thus rich in eclipses, those of Feb. 11 and Aug. 6 being total, and therefore particularly terrifying to the superstitious populace of those days. On the other hand, astrologers foretold that the evil effects of the 'disaster in the sun' of July 1600 would be felt between Jan. 20, 1601, and July 12, 1603, and the Essex rising of Feb. 1601 was hailed as a direct fulfilment of this . . . . At any time between 1598 and 1602 Hor.'s words here and Ham.'s at 3. 4. 48-51, would have made a special appeal to a London audience.[17]

Thus we can link the passage specifically with Essex *if* we accept the change in order of lines, take "disasters in the sun" to mean eclipse, and the eclipse to be that of July, 1600.

Does a study of the sources help at all? The problem of source is rather complex. For convenience in handling it the concrete elements of the passage may be analyzed thus: (1) "graves tenantless", (2) "sheeted dead", (3) that "squeak and gibber", (4) "in the Roman streets", (5) "stars with trains of fire", (6) and "dews of blood", (7) "disasters in the sun", (8) "and the moist star . . . with eclipse", (9) "upon whose influence Neptune's empire stands", (10) "was sick almost to doomsday",[18] (11) "harbingers preceding still the fates", (12) "prologue to the omen", (13) "heaven and earth together demonstrated", (14) "unto our climatures and countrymen."

Of these, numbers 1, 3, 4, 6, and 14 appear in *Julius Caesar* in the forms respectively of (1) "graves have yawned and yielded up their dead", (3) "and ghosts did shriek and squeal", (4) "about the streets", (6) "drizzled blood",[19] and (14) "For, I believe, they are portentous things / Unto the climate that they point upon."[20] Number 1 is found more or less distinctly in Plutarch: "Spirits running up and down in the night" occurs in the passage[21] which is the obvious source of the omens in *Julius Caesar,* I. iii. 10-32 and II. ii. 39-40. As Furness points out,[22] another passage in Plutarch supplies a few more details, those corresponding to our numbers 5-7. The whole passage is interesting.

> Again, of signs in the element, the great comet, which seven nights together was seen very bright after Cæsar's death, the eighth night after was never seen more. Also the brightness of the sun was darkened, the which all that year through rose very pale, and shined not out, whereby it gave but small heat: therefore the air being very cloudy and dark, by the weakness of the heat that could not come forth, did cause the earth to bring forth but raw and unripe fruit, which rotted before it could ripe. But, above all, the ghost that appeared unto Brutus shewed plainly that the gods were offended with the murther of Cæsar.[23]

Clearly this is not an account of a mere eclipse but of disasters that have their origin in the obscuring of the sun

over a considerable time. And it is not without interest that the omens are here linked with a ghost and a murder. Here we should also compare Holinshed on the omens in the time of Henry IV:

> In the moneth of March appeared a blasing starre, first betweene the east part of the firmament and the north, flashing foorth fire and flames round about it, and, lastlie, shooting foorth fierie beams towards the north; foreshewing (as was thought) the great effusion of bloud that followed, about the parts of Wales and Northumberland.[24]

Also Holinshed on omens attending the murder of Duffe:

> For the space of six moneths togither, after this heinous murther thus committed, there appeared no sunne by day, nor moone by night in anie part of the realme, but still was the skie couered with continuall clouds, and sometimes such outragious winds arose, with lightenings and tempests, that the people were in great feare of present destruction.[25]

Wilson quotes Massey[26] as noting that lunar eclipses are not mentioned in Plutarch. However, Hunter[27] pointed out that parallels occur in Lucan's *Pharsalia,* Book I. Marlowe's translation was published in 1600. The following lines (C. F. Tucker Brooke's edition of Marlowe, Oxford, 1910) are worth comparing with the elements numbered 1, 2, 3, 5, 7, 8 in the *Hamlet* passage:

> Great store of strange and vnknown stars were seene
> Wandering about the North, and rings of fire
> Flie in the ayre, and dreadfull bearded stars,
> And Commets that presage the fal of kingdoms.[28]
> (ll. 524-527)

> *Phoebe* hauing fild
> Her meeting hornes to match her brothers light,
> Strooke with th' earths suddaine shadow waxed pale,
> *Titan* himselfe throand in the midst of heauen,
> His burning chariot plung'd in sable cloudes,
> And whelm'd the world in darknesse, making men
> Dispaire of day . . . .[29]
> (ll. 535-541)

> Soules quiet and appeas'd sight from their graues,
> Clashing of armes was heard in vntrod woods,
> Shrill voices schright, and ghoasts incounter men.[30]
> (ll. 566-568)
> *Sylla's* ghost

Was seene to walk, singing sad Oracles . . . .[31]
(ll. 579-580)

The omen passage in *Julius Caesar* (drawn chiefly from Plutarch) and those in *Macbeth* and *I Henry IV* (both drawn chiefly from Holinshed) have some elements which, so far as I can find, do not appear clearly in their main sources but which do have parallels more or less distinct in *Pharsalia.*

Thus:

Julius Caesar:

Against the Capitol I met a lion,
Who glar'd upon me, and went surly by,
Without annoying me; . . .
(I. iii)

A lioness hath whelped in the streets;
And graves have yawn'd, and yielded up their dead;
Fierce fiery warriors fought upon the clouds,
In ranks and squadrons and right form of war,
. . . .
The noise of battle hurtled in the air,
Horses did neigh, and dying men did groan.
(II. ii)

Pharsalia:

. . . . wilde beastes were seene,
Leauing the woods, lodge in the streetes of Rome.[32]
(ll. 557-558)

Trumpets were heard to sound; and with what noise
An armed battaile ioines, such and more strange
Blacke night brought forth in secret:[33]
(ll. 577-579)

Julius Caesar:

Are you not mov'd, when all the sway of earth
Shakes like a thing unfirm?
(I. iii)

Macbeth:

Some say the earth
Was feverous and did shake.
(II. iii)

I Henry IV:

The frame and huge foundation of the earth
Shak'd like a coward . . . .
The heavens were all on fire, the earth did tremble.
(III. i. 16-17, 24, Oxford Edition)

Pharsalia:

The earth went off hir hinges; and the *Alpes*
Shooke the old snow from off their trembling laps.[34]
(ll. 551-552)

I Henry IV:

The front of heaven was full of fiery shapes,
Of burning cressets;
. . . .
The goats ran from the mountains, and the herds
Were strangely clamorous to the frighted fields.
(III. i. 14-15, 39-40)

Pharsalia:

The flattering skie gliter'd in often flames,
And sundry fiery meteors blaz'd in heauen:
Now spearlike, long: now like a spreading torch
Lightning in silence stole forth without clouds, . . .[35]
(ll. 528-531)

Cattell were seene that muttered humane speech:[36]
(I. 559)

All the parallels are general, however, and none is attended by clear accidental signs of connection. The case for a direct influence of Lucan would be stronger if the literature of prodigies were not so large and so extensively known in Shakspere's day.[37]

Still, Shakspere might well have known the *Pharsalia,* been arrested by some of its imagery, in the version of Marlowe's mighty line. Such a passage as:

(and gods not sleightly
Purchase immortal thrones; nor *Ioue* ioide heauen
Vntil the cruel Giants war was done."[38]
(ll. 34-36)

is in impressiveness not far behind the great central line of *Troilus and Cressida:* "'Tis mad idolatry / To make the service greater than the god." As must often have been pointed out, the following resembles in spirit the long speech of Ulysses in *Troilus and Cressida,* I. iii:

Roome was so great it could not beare it selfe:
So when this worlds compounded vnion breakes,
Time ends and to old *Chaos* all things turne;
Confused stars shal meete, celestiall fire

> Fleete on the flouds, the earth shoulder the sea,
> Affording it no shoare, and *Phoebe's* waine
> Chace *Phoebus* and inrag'd affect his place,
> And striue to shine by day, and ful of strife
> Disolue the engins of the broken world.[39]
> (ll. 72-80)

Shakspere's mind might naturally have been turned to the *Pharsalia* by still another passage in Plutarch, that in which the prodigies just preceding the battle of Pharsalia are mentioned:

> The night before the battle [Pharsalia], as he went about midnight to visit the watch, men saw a great firebrand in the element, all of a light fire, that came over Caesar's camp, and fell down in Pompey's. In the morning also, when they relieved the watch, they heard a false alarm in the enemies' camp, without any apparent cause: which they commonly call a sudden fear, that makes men beside themselves.[40]

One more parallel calls for mention, Professor Kittredge comments on "squeak and gibber": "Alluding to the horribly thin and strident voice ascribed to spectres—the 'vox exigua of the *AEneid,* vi, 492, 493. So in *Julius Caesar,* ii, 2, 24: 'Ghosts did shriek and squeal about the streets.'"[41] In the *AEneid,* Book VI, are the lines:

> pars uertere terga,
> ceu quondam petiere rates; pars tollere uocem
> exiguam: inceptus clamor frustratur hiantis.
> (ll. 491-493)

Conington translates: "some turn their backs in flight, as erst they fled to the ships: others raise a feeble war-shout. The cry they essay mocks their straining throats." Phær's translation uses the actual word "squeak": "some others sqeaking thin / Would lift their voice, but in their jawes begun, it stuck within." The passage immediately preceding is interesting. Conington's translation reads:

> And now they were already in the furthest region, the separate place tenanted by the great heroes of war . . . . Here are chiefs of Dardan line, wailed long and loudly in the upper air as they lay low in fight. As he saw them all in long array, he groaned heavily: Glaucus and Medon, and Thersilochus, the three sons of Antenor, and Polyphœtes, Ceres's priest, and Idæus, with his hand still on the car, still on the armor
> [*Idaeumque, etiam currus, etiam arma tenentem*].[42]

> They surround him, right and left, the ghostly crowd; one look is not sufficient: they would fain linger on and on, and step side by side with him, and learn the cause of his coming. But the nobles of the Danaans, and the flower of Agamemnon's bands, when they saw the hero and his armor gleaming through the shade, were smitten with strange alarm: some turn their backs in flight . . . .

Shakspere's imagination may well have responded to the original: "Such was the very armour he had on." And this direct poetic response may be all we need to account for the poetry of war in the whole scene.

The parallel with the *AEneid* tends to gain significance from a minor parallel in Belleforest. In the scene in which Amleth kills Fengon, he says in addressing the dead man:

> Now go thy wayes, and when thou commest in hell, see thou forget not to tell thy brother (whom thou trayterously slewest), that it was his sonne that sent thee thither with the message, to the ende that beeing comforted thereby, his soule may rest among the blessed spirits, and quit mee of the obligation that bound me to pursue his vengeance upon mine owne blood . . . .[43]

Here might be the very point at which it occurred to the dramatist to put the ghost of the elder Hamlet into the play.

Belleforest, Norway and the old wars, a spirit unavenged, in Hades, Virgil, a ghost in armor, new wars threatened, portents, Cæsar, Plutarch, the battle of Pharsalia, the change of the watch, the midnight sky, Lucan, Marlowe, this is a natural path of the imagination, though we cannot tell whether by it we come on Shakspere's traces. At least it can give a merely poetic reason for a succession of images that need depend, therefore, on no extraneous rationalization. Not that the poetic reason for the passage precludes topical allusion, however. Indeed, some historical critics feel that topical allusion was so ingrained a habit of the Elizabethan stage that when an allusion to contemporary events is not circumstantially improbable, the burden of proof is on those who would set it aside rather than on those who incline to accept it. At all events, the passage is an illustration of the endless ways in which an impression from one source could lead to or act upon the impressions from another or from contemporary life, and in which minor material might be taken up into the main story. There at

least seems to be some sort of network of association here, though we can only guess at the order in which its slender threads were woven.

If such were indeed the evolution of the watch scene, herein would be a reason why the portent passage might seem so organic to the poet that it would not even occur to him to leave it out—though if he had been able to look at the whole scene objectively as for the first time and written by another, he might—we are not sure—have seen the passage as superfluous or out of proportion. Certainly it might well be cut by those responsible for acting versions. On its organic relations another possibility will be considered presently. And to this end let us look at the two remaining sections of the scene.

I. i. E: The Ghost—second entrance

Again, this little unit is interesting for its sheer form and shapeliness—the pattern of the long and short lines, satisfying to the eye as well as the ear, with the incantation of its refrain, the mounting intensity of its phrases, as in a litany. This is the fitting culmination to which the climax of the act has led up—a movement that has rhythm of outward action, swift and energetic, as well as of speech and inner thought—" 'Tis here!—'Tis here!—'Tis gone!"—operatic, ritualistic as in a solemn dance, the patterning, essential to to the level of the supernatural.

I. i. F: The Postlude

With the breath of dawn and the crowing of the cock the atmosphere of the scene begins to change. Through the skillful manipulation of one poetic image after another, the spell of fear is unwound. This wholesome magic is in sharp contrast to but quite possibly suggested by extended passages on black magic in Belleforest's story. Two brief excerpts must suffice to indicate the nature of this material:

> . . . . in those days, the north parts of the worlde, living as then under Sathans lawes, were full of inchanters, so that there was not any yong gentleman whatsoever that knew not something therein sufficient to serve his turne, if need required . . . . and so Hamlet, while his father lived, had bin instructed in that devilish art, where-

> by the wicked spirite abuseth mankind, and advertiseth him (as he can) of things past.[44]

Belleforest also emphasizes the difference between the dark and the wholesome uses of the supernatural:

> It would seem miraculous that Hamlet shold divine in that sort, which after prooved so true (if as I said before) the devel had not knowledg of things past, but to grant it he knoweth things to come I hope you shall never finde me in so grosse an error. You will compare and make equall derivation, and conjecture with those that are made by the spirit of God, and pronounced by the holy prophets, that tasted of that marvelous science, to whome onely was declared the secrets and wondrous workes of the Almighty.[45]

The falling action or postlude of the first scene is sustained and long, a leisurely descent from terrace to terrace, into profound tranquility. And here we perhaps understand why the passage on the portents had to be long too—sinister forces being balanced against, and thereby made to strengthen our sense of the power of, the good, so that we may have "mighty opposites" to symbolize the titanic conflict of the whole drama—a prologue to the omen coming on. *Macbeth* uses the same figure: "Thou seest the heavens, as troubled with man's act, / Threaten his bloody stage." And sonnet XV reminds us "That this huge stage presenteth nought but shows / Whereon the stars in secret influence comment."

But from these far levels we return, as we do constantly in this play, to the sense of everyday life going on, and hear a matter-of-fact voice saying, after the first introduction of the name of Prince Hamlet, "And I this morning know / Where we shall find him most convenient."

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[1]Quoted from the seventeenth-century translation. See *The Sources of Hamlet: with Essay on the Legend by Sir Israel Gollancz* (London: Oxford University Press, 1926), p. 201. To quote from the original (Gollancz, p. 200): "Le pauvre Prince eust esté en danger de succomber à cest assaut, si un Gentil-homme, qui du vivant de Horvvendille, avoit esté nourry avec luy, ne se fust plus monstré ami de la nourriture prinse avec Amleth, que affectionné à la puissance du tyran, lequel pourchassoit les moyens de envelopper le fils és pieges, esquels le pere avoit finy ses jours. Cestuy s'cacompagna des courtisans deputez pour ceste trahison, plus avec deliberation d'instruire le Prince, de ce qu'il avoit à faire, que pour luy dresser des embuches et le traihir, estimant quet le moindre indice qu'il donneroit de son bon sens, suffiroit pour luy faire perdre la vie. Cestuycy avec certains signes feit entendre à Amleth, en quel peril est ce qu'il se mettroit . . . ."

[2]Gollancz, *The Sources of Hamlet,* p. 105 (Elton's translation). Cf. Saxo's original (Gollancz, p. 104): "Inter quos forte quidam Amlethi collacteus aderat, a cujus

animo nondum sociæ educationis respectus exciderat, hic præteriti convictus memoriam præsenti imperio anteponens, Amlethum inter deputatos comites instruendi potius quam insidiandi studio prosequebatur, quod eum ultima passurum non dubitaret si vel modicum sensati animi indicium præbuisset."

[3]Dover Wilson's idea (see his edition of *Hamlet,* Cambridge University Press, 1934, p. 144) that the "play opens on the eve of the coronation and marriage of Claudius; and the Ghost begins to walk three days before the ceremony" has an exactness unsupported by the text.

[4]As we shall note later, it is here, not in connection with the voyage to England that piracy comes into Belleforest's narrative; also, there are faint parallels between this passage and Hamlet's soliloquy after seeing the army of Fortinbras—"greatly to find quarrel in a straw /When honor's at the stake . . . ."

[5]Gollancz, pp. 181-183. *Cf.* the original: "Ce Roy magnanime ayant deffié au combat, corps, à corps, Horvvendille, y fut receu avec pactes, que celuy qui seroit vaincu perdroit toutes les richesses qui seroient en leurs vaisseaux, et le vainqueur feroit enterrer honnestement celuy qui seroit occis au combat, car la mort estoit le pris et salaire de celuy, qui perdroit la bataille." Gollancz, p. 182.

[6]See Gollancz, p. 94.

[7]*Ibid.,* p. 95.

[8]*Ibid.,* p. 99.

[9]*Ibid.,* pp. 147-149.

[10]*Ibid.,* p. 151. A possible evidence that Shakspere was interested by parts of Saxo's story not directly utilized in *Hamlet* is found in the theory of Sir Israel Gollancz that Amleth's speech to the Danes after he accomplishes his vengeance was a source of the speech of Brutus (*Julius Caesar,* III, ii): "The situation of Hamlet is almost identical with that of Brutus after he has dealt the blow . . . ." The comment is quoted in the Hudson edition of *Julius Caesar,* p. xvii, from the Temple edition.

[11]*Variorum,* II, 136.

[12]*Ibid.,* II, 137.

[13]In the seventeenth century translation the words "being at sea", not in the original French, are inserted: "But the subtle Danish prince (beeing at sea) whilst his companions slept, having read the letters . . . ." (Gollancz, p. 233). It has often been noted that the influence of the play is seen at two points in the *Historie of Hamblet*—in the expression "a rat! a rat!" and in the substitution of "arras" for the "loudier" of Belleforest. Here is a third point of influence.

[14]Conceivably it could have been indirectly suggested merely by its opposite: the summer scene is out of place; why not a winter scene instead? It seems not unlikely, however, that some definite source for the picture will sometime be turned up elsewhere. Could the Polacks have been on ski, by the way?

[15]See Henry David Gray, "Reconstruction of a Lost Play," *Phil. Quar.,* VII (1928), 254-274.

[16]1872. See Wilson's edition of *Hamlet* (Cambridge University Press, 1934), p. 146; also *Variorum,* I, 19. Professor Kittredge (see his edition of *Hamlet,* 1939, p. 135 fn.), after noting that Tschischwitz (1869) had also made this change, adds, "But the preterite tense *was* (in I. 120) suffices to show that ll. 117-120 refer to Roman history and not to contemporary Denmark."

[17]Wilson's edition of *Hamlet,* p. 147. He refers us to Introd. by D. C. Collins to Norden's *Vicissitudo Rerum,* 1600 (*Shak. Assoc. Facs.,* 1931), and a thesis by the same writer.

[18]As Wilson notes (see his *Hamlet,* p. 147), this passage reflects Matt. XXIV. 29 (Wilson refers us to Herford), and also Luke XXI. 25-27.

[19]*Julius Caesar,* II. ii.

[20]*Ibid.,* I. iii.

[21]See *Shakespeare's Plutarch,* ed. C. F. Tucker Brooke (1909), I, 95.

[22]*Variorum,* I, 20.

[23]*Shakespeare's Plutarch* I, 106.

[24]Ed. Allardyce Nicoll (Everyman's Library, 1927), p. 55.

[25]*Ibid.,* p. 215.

[26]Wilson's edition of *Hamlet,* p. 146.

[27]*Variorum,* I, 17.

[28] ignota obscuræ uiderunt sidera noctes,
ardentemque polum flammis, cæloque uolantis
obliquas per inane faces, crinemque timendi
sideris et terris mutantem regna cometen.
(ll. 526-529)

[29] cornuque coacto
iam Phœbe toto fratrem cum redderet orbe
terrarum subita percussa expalluit umbra.
ipse caput medio Titan cum ferret Olympo
condidit ardentis atra caligine currus
inuoluitque orbem tenebris, gentesque cœgit
desperare diem:
(ll. 537-543)

[30] compositis plenæ gemuerunt ossibus urnæ
tum fragor armorum magnæque per auia uoces
auditae nemorum, et uenientes comminus umbrae.
(ll. 568-570)

[31] et medio uisi consurgere Campo
tristia Sullani cecinere oracula manes:
(ll. 580-581)

[32] siluisque feras sub nocte relictis
audaces media posuisse cubilia Roma.
(ll. 559-560)

(Haskins, in his edition, 1887, p. 31, notes the parallel with *Julius Caesar,* II. ii. 17.)

[33] insonuere tubæ et quanto clamore cohortes
miscentur tantum nox atra silentibus umbris
edidit:
(ll. 578-580)

[34] tum cardine tellus
subsedit, ueteremque iugis nutantibus Alpes
discussere niuem.
(ll. 552-554)

[35] fulgura fallaci miscuerunt crebra sereno,
et uarias ignis denso dedit ære formas:
nunc iaculum longo nunc sparso lumine lampas
emicuit cælo. tacitum sine nubibus ullis
fulmen . . . .
(ll. 530-534)

[36] tum pecudum faciles humana ad murura linguæ
(l. 561)

[37]C. E. Haskins in his edition of the *Pharsalia,* 1887, p. 29, says, on the passage in Lucan, "It is unnecessary to subjoin here all the similar accounts of prodigies which might be quoted in illustration of this passage: it is sufficient to refer in general to Verg. G. I 464 foll.; Ov. Met. XV 782 foll." *Cf.* Kittredge's note on *Julius Caesar,* II, ii, 19, quoting Marlowe, *2 Tamburlaine,* iv, 1, 201-6.

[38] magnoque æterna parantur
regna deis, cælumque suo seruire Tonanti
non nisi sæuorum potuit post bella gigantum
(ll. 34-36)

Cf. Julius Caesar, I, iii. 11.

[39] nec se Roma ferens. sic, cum compage soluta
sæcula tot mundi suprema cœgerit hora,
antiquom repetent iterum chaos omnia; mixtis
sidera sideribus concurrent: ignea pontum
astra petent: tellus extendere litora nolet

excutietque fretum: fratri contraria Phœbe
ibit, et obliquom bigas agitare per orbem
indignata diem poscet sibi: totaque discors
machina diuolsi turbabit fœdera mundi.
(ll. 72-80)

[40]Shakespeare's *Plutarch,* I, 67.

[41]*Hamlet.* Kittredge's edition (Ginn and Company, 1939), p. 134.

[42]Line 485. Phær gives this more prosaically: "Idæus eke, that horses swift and armours yet doth hold." See *The Thirteene Bookes of Aeneidos . . . . Translated into English Verse, to the first third part of the tenth Booke, by Thomas Phaer, Esquire: . . . London, Printed by Bernard Alsop, . . . 1620.*

[43]Gollancz, *Sources of Hamlet,* pp. 257-259.

[44]Gollancz, *Sources of Hamlet,* p. 237.

[45]*Ibid.,* p. 239.

AN EMENDATION in *ROMEO AND JULIET*

By H. EDWARD CAIN

In *Romeo and Juliet,* III, i, 68-70, Furness reads:

> *Mer.* O calm, dishonourable, vile submission!
> *A la stoccata* carries it away. [*Draws.*
> Tybalt, you rat-catcher, will you walk?

The expression *A la stoccata* or *Alla stoccata,* as more properly written,[1] owes very little to the basic texts. The "bad quarto" of 1597 has *Allastockado.* All the other quartos and F1 read *Alla stucatho.* The later Ff read *Allastucatho.* On the whole, modern editors have not been very successful in interpreting this expression in its context. They have added nothing to the materials supplied by Furness, and Furness does not settle the difficulties. The Clarke note cited by Furness is the basis of the now universally accepted interpretation of line 69: *Alla stoccata* is said to mean "to the rapier thrust" and is generally explained as a jocose reference to Tybalt. There is no gloss of the word "walk" in line 70 and no attempt to explain the meaning of that line.[2]

The proposed emendation is the reading *Allo steccato* for *Alla stoccata.* The *NED* records as current in 1600 two words spelled *steccado.* For *steccado*[3] the variant spellings given are *steccato* and *stecata.* This word is defined as "lists to fight or joust in." *Steccado*[4] is described as an erroneous form of *stoccado* and defined as "a thrust with a rapier." John Florio (1598) defines *steccato* as "the listes or place to combat in, or other place railed in with stakes, railes or poles. Also a combat."[5]

In a book which it is almost certain Shakspere read about the time he wrote *Romeo and Juliet,* namely, *Saviolo His Practise* (1595),[6] the word is employed explicitly in this sense:

> "After the defie it is not lawfull that the one Gentleman should offend the other, but in the steccata, which is the place of combat."[5]

The facts thus established are: that *steccato* was current

in England during the time that Shakspere, according to accepted opinion, wrote *Romeo and Juliet;* that it was a word probably familiar to him as a name for the place of combat; and that it was a word easily confused with the word *stoccata.*

There are mainly four reasons why the emendation seems desirable. First, if in this case, in which the spelling seems so hopelessly confused and unreliable, we consider only the proper Italian forms of the words, namely, *stoccata* and *steccato,* then the latter has a better textual justification. The textual forms cited above have three constant elements: the *st* of the ante-penult, the *a* of the penult, and the *o* of the ultima. One of these three, *stoccata* has two and *steccato* has three. Insofar as the three basic textual forms agree in presenting the grammatical anomaly in which a feminine article is combined with a masculine noun, it is fitting to bring them into agreement, as Theobald did; but, whereas Theobald changed the inflection of the noun,[7] here the gender of the article is changed.

Second, *Allo steccato* gives the better reading contextually. If we interpret *"Allo steccato* carries it away" to mean *"To the field* is the cry that prevails above all," that is, "we must conform to the code of the duello and settle our differences by single combat," then the words which immediately follow, "Tybalt, you rat-catcher, will you walk?" make excellent sense. As anxious as Tybalt for a fight then and there, Mercutio utilizes the punctilio of the duello to cast upon Tybalt the odium of beginning the fray.

Third, stage directions in modern texts have the effect of making Mercutio the actual beginner of the fray, but it is clearly and explicitly indicated later in the same scene (lines 144-157) that Tybalt, and not Mercutio, is the actual beginner of the fray. The suggested emendation allows of an interpretation of the action which obviates this contradiction. After Mercutio challenges Tybalt to the field (lines 69-70) and Tybalt parries with a question, Mercutio begins to heap abuse upon him. Tybalt's last drop of patience is exhausted at line 74, at which point he draws.

Having successfully goaded his enemy into committing the first hostile act, Mercutio carefully calls it to the attention of the audience by shouting,

> Will you pluck your sword out of his pilcher by the ears?
> Lines 74-75.

He then draws his own sword, remarking as he does so,

> make haste, lest mine be about your ears ere it be out.
> Lines 75-76.

At the same time, this interpretation resolves the problem of the duality of Benvolio's character, for it is he who avers that Tybalt began the fray. The matter led Dr. Johnson into a rather specious piece of psychological imagining:

> The charge of falsehood on *Bentivolio* [*sic*], though produced at hazard, is very just. The authour, who seems to intend the character of *Bentivolio* as good, meant perhaps to shew, how the best minds, in a state of faction and discord, are detorted to criminal partiality.[7]

Further, this interpretation brings the text into harmony with its source at a point at which disparity is difficult to account for:

> The Capulets do bring the breathless corse
> Before the Prince, and crave that cruel deadly pain
> May be the guerdon of his fault, that hath their kinsman slain.
> The Montagues do plead, their Romeus void of fault;
> The lookers-on do say, the fight begun was by Tybalt.[8]

The final reason adduced for the acceptance of the proposed emendation is that the expression *allo steccato* can be shown to have both a source and a technical significance in the literature of the Italian duello. The formal duel of honor, in contradistinction to the duel *alla macchia* and other illegitimate forms of the duel, was a duel for which it was necessary to have a "field."[9] The formal duel of honor, therefore, had to be a duel *nello steccato* or *allo steccato* in contradistinction, for the most part, to the duel alla macchia. The following illustrates the point aptly:

> *Gi.* A questo proposito uorreri sapere, qual cagione allegate uoi, perchè uno ingiuriato possa sforzare in punto d'honore l'ingiuriante al Duello, cioè a combattere nello steccato: & no'l possa sforzare in un punto d'honore alla macchia?

Pos. Perchè lo steccato è via ordinaria, l'altre vie sono straordinarie: & l'honore non obliga alle vie straordinarie.[10]

No one has so far been able to show that the expression *alla stoccata* appears elsewhere either in English or Italian writings. The following passage is from one of the most popular sixteenth century Italian treatises on the duel:

Chi fa motto di circonstanti allo steccato dee essere castigato.[11]

We may be certain, therefore, that *allo steccato* is good Italian.[12]

The Catholic University of America,
Washington, D. C.

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[1]Edward Dowden, ed., *The Tragedy of Romeo and Juliet,* (4th ed., 1935), p. 93.

[2]H. H. Furness, ed., *Romeo and Juliet,* p. 156. The Q1 reading is not cited by Furness.

Both C. T. Onions (*A Shakespeare Glossary*) and Alexander Schmidt (*Shakespeare-Lexicon*) gloss the word *walk* in line 70 as meaning *to duel.* But there is no other instance within or without the text of Shakspere in which *to walk* means *to duel.* The ordinary sense of the word would be *to go, to move.* See Alexander Dyce, *A Glossary to the Works of William Shakespeare,* revised by Harold Littledale, p. 541. See also the *NED.*

[3]*A World of Wordes,* p. 396.

[4]Furness, *op. cit.,* pp. 409 and 412.

[5]Vincentio Saviolo, *op. cit.,* sig. X3.

[6]Furness, *op. cit.,* p. 156.

[7]Samuel Johnson, ed., *The Plays of William Shakespeare* (1765), vol. 8, p. 67, note.

[8]J. J. Munro, ed., *Brooke's "Romeus and Juliet",* (1902), lines 1040-1044.

[9]Frederick R. Bryson, *The Sixteenth Century Italian Duel* (1938), pp. xi-xxix and p. 28.

[10]Giovanni Battista Possevino, *Dialogo dell' honore* (*Vinegia,* 1565), pp. 608-9.

[11]Girolamo Muzio, *Il duello,* (Venice, 1576), fol. 58.

[12]Just before going to press Dr. Cain sends us the following interesting quotation from John C. Jeaffreson's edition of the *Middlesex County Records* (1886, vol. 1, p. 206):

> 29 May, 34 Elizabeth.—Coroners Inquisition-post-mortem, taken at the parish of St. Martin-in-the-fields on view of the body of Richard Cockett, there lying dead: With Verdict that, on . . . between the hours three and four p. m. one George Asheley late of London yoman was at the house of a certain Sandes widow, when thither came Richard Cockett who forthwith said to the same George Asheley these English words, "George I have occasion to goe to the feildes and I praye you walke with me thether," whereupon Richard Cockett armed with "a longe sworde" and George Asheley armed with a rapier walked together, till they came to a close called the "Mase" in the parish of St. Martin aforesaid, where after speaking words to one another they drew forth their weapons and made an affray, in which affray George Asheley with his sword gave Richard Cockett on the outer part of his left leg a mortal wound of which he died within a quarter of an hour . . . 34 Eliz.

NOTE ON "SHAKESPEARE IN AMERICA"

By M. Elwood Smith

IF Professor Dunn had added an Appendix to her "Shakespeare in America,"[1] she might have included an incident recorded by Parkman[2] too odd to be entirely omitted from any comprehensive presentation of the interest shown in Shakspere in pre-Revolutionary America.

In 1764, Pontiac had withdrawn from the siege of the fort at Detroit to the Illinois country. General Bradstreet had come to the relief of Detroit and he was about to send one Captain Morris to treat with Pontiac. Shakspere's "The Tempest" contains nothing more fantastic than the matter contained in the following paragraph:

"The day following was an unlucky one. One of Morris's Indians, a Mohawk chief, ran off, having first stolen all he could lay hands on, and sold the ambassador's stock of rum, consisting of two barrels, to the Ottawas. A scene of frenzy ensued. A young Indian ran up to Morris, and stabbed at him savagely; but Godefroy caught the assassin's hand, and saved his patron's life. Morris escaped from the camp, and lay hidden in a cornfield till the howling and screeching subsided, and the Indians slept themselves sober. When he returned, *an Indian, called the Little Chief, gave him a volume of Shakespeare,*—the spoil of some slaughtered officer, —and then begged for gunpowder."

If the spectacle of an Indian chief in the midst of a howling wilderness presenting a volume of Shakspere to an English officer is unusual, hardly less so is the record of how that officer's life was saved as result of an addiction to "Antony and Cleopatra." Morris came to Pontiac at Fort Miami. A portion of the following paragraph rounds out this extraordinary episode:

"The party landed a little below the fort; and, while his followers were making their way through the border of woods that skirted the river, Morris remained in the canoe, *solacing himself by reading 'Antony and Cleopatra' in the volume he had so oddly obtained.* It was fortunate that he

did so; for his attendants had scarcely reached the open meadow, which lay behind the woods, when they were encountered by a mob of savages, armed with spears, hatchets, and bows and arrows, and bent on killing the Englishman. Being, for the moment, unable to find him, the chiefs had time to address the excited rabble, and persuade them to postpone their intended vengeance."

Oregon State College,
Corvallis, Oregon.

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[1]Esther Cloudman Dunn, Macmillan, 1939.

[2]*The Conspiracy of Pontiac,* Vol. II, 202-203. Little, Brown and Company, 1898. Italics are added.

EDITORIAL NOTES AND COMMENTS

By S. A. T.

AN EARLY HERBAL

Elizabethan scholarship has been provided with another valuable tool in its researches into the folkloristic and scientific (mostly pseudo-scientific) ideas and beliefs of the English people in the 16th century. This is in the shape of what looks like and is a perfect and extremely attractive facsimile of the first of many editions of the first English book devoted exclusively to herbs. The book, bearing the simple title of *An Herbal* (and in the present edition designated by its editor as *Banckes's Herbal* because it was printed by Richard Banckes), was first published in London in 1525. Of this first edition only two copies are known to be extant, one of which (the one in the British Museum) is herewith published in facsimile by Scholars' Facsimiles and Reprints (New York, 103 Park Ave.) with an extremely interesting and fluently written introduction by Dr. Sanford V. Larkey, the librarian of the Welch Medical Library at Johns Hopkins, and Dr. Thomas Pyle, assistant professor of English at the University of Maryland.

The book is of great interest from several viewpoints, that of the botanist, the antiquarian, the physician, the medical quack, the litterateur, and the psychologist. Elizabethan and Jacobean poets, notably Shakspere, are rich in allusions to flowers, weeds, herbs, and their imagined properties, and the modern scholar is curious to see how faithfully the poets and the dramatists of those days reflect the knowledge and beliefs current among them, their contemporaries and their predecessors.

The reading of this book, printed in black-letter, has been made easy even for the general public by the inclusion in the volume of a transcription of the whole book into modern English, in modern spelling and punctuation, and the insertion (in square brackets) of the modern equivalents of unusual words. A valuable feature of the book is a carefully prepared index.

Attractive binding, fine paper and clean printing contribute to making this book a highly desirable item in any library.

Other books in this series issued by Scholars' Facsimiles and Reprints in 1941, all carefully edited and beautifully published, are listed in the annual bibliography appearing in this issue of the Bulletin.

AN APPEAL

Not since the bad days of 1933 has our Association been faced with such a serious economic situation as it faces now. Because of serious cuts in teachers' salaries our membership has fallen off considerably; because of other commitments the Carnegie Corporation has withdrawn its support. From dues alone it is impossible for our Association to continue publishing a quarterly magazine of the size and excellence of our BULLETIN. If we are to continue to do so we must have either a very large increase in our membership, an increase of not less than 500, or a subsidy of not less than $5,000.00 (a sum sufficient to carry us for five or six years). In what way

can *you* help us towards attaining this?

Many European journals have ceased publication as a result of the present world conditions. Beasts, alias dictators, do not encourage the presecution of anything smacking of culture or civilization. Fortunately we have no dictator. Therefore we must not permit in this country even a single magazine devoted to the arts, sciences and humanities to die. The death of the SHAKESPEARE ASSOCIATION BULLETIN, the only magazine in the world now devoted to Shakspere and his contemporaries, would be an incalculable loss to cultural America. This must not be permitted to happen. What will *you* do about it?

THE FOLLOWING INTERESTING LETTER SPEAKS FOR ITSELF

SHAKESPEARE CLUB

BURLINGTON, IOWA

Feb. 1, 1942.

SHAKESPEARE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA.

To the Editor.

Dear Sir:

The Shakespeare Club of Burlington, Iowa, celebrated its fiftieth anniversary on Jan. 20, 1942. Among those present were three charter members, one of these being the active president for the whole time, and also the motivating force and guiding spirit.

A committee of twelve out of the thirty-five members spent weeks in research, so that the program that day gave the newer members parts of outstanding programs, glimpses of the past, mirthful poetry, and loving tribute to many members long since gone. The reading of the minutes for fifty years, old printed programs, favors and the memory book yielded enough material for a dozen afternoons, but finally was weeded out and boiled down to fill one afternoon, after the anniversary luncheon was over.

The luncheon was a replica of the original one as to food but the decorations carried out the golden anniversary theme.

The long white covered table was centred with the traditional birthday cake. The decorations included gold menu folders, gold and black crested place cards; and gold sprayed huckleberry foliage was used in profusion. Even the ice-cream molds had a gold "fifty" embossed on them.

A high-light of the afternoon was an unexpected and joyfully received radiogram from the secretary of the Shakespeare Club of Stratford-on-Avon.

The program closed with a forecast of the club's activities in 1992.

Sincerely yours,

ZILLAH HASKELL,
Secretary.

117 Clay St.
Burlington, Iowa.